

THE GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

PART 1

The solution of the
problem of Democracy

PART 2

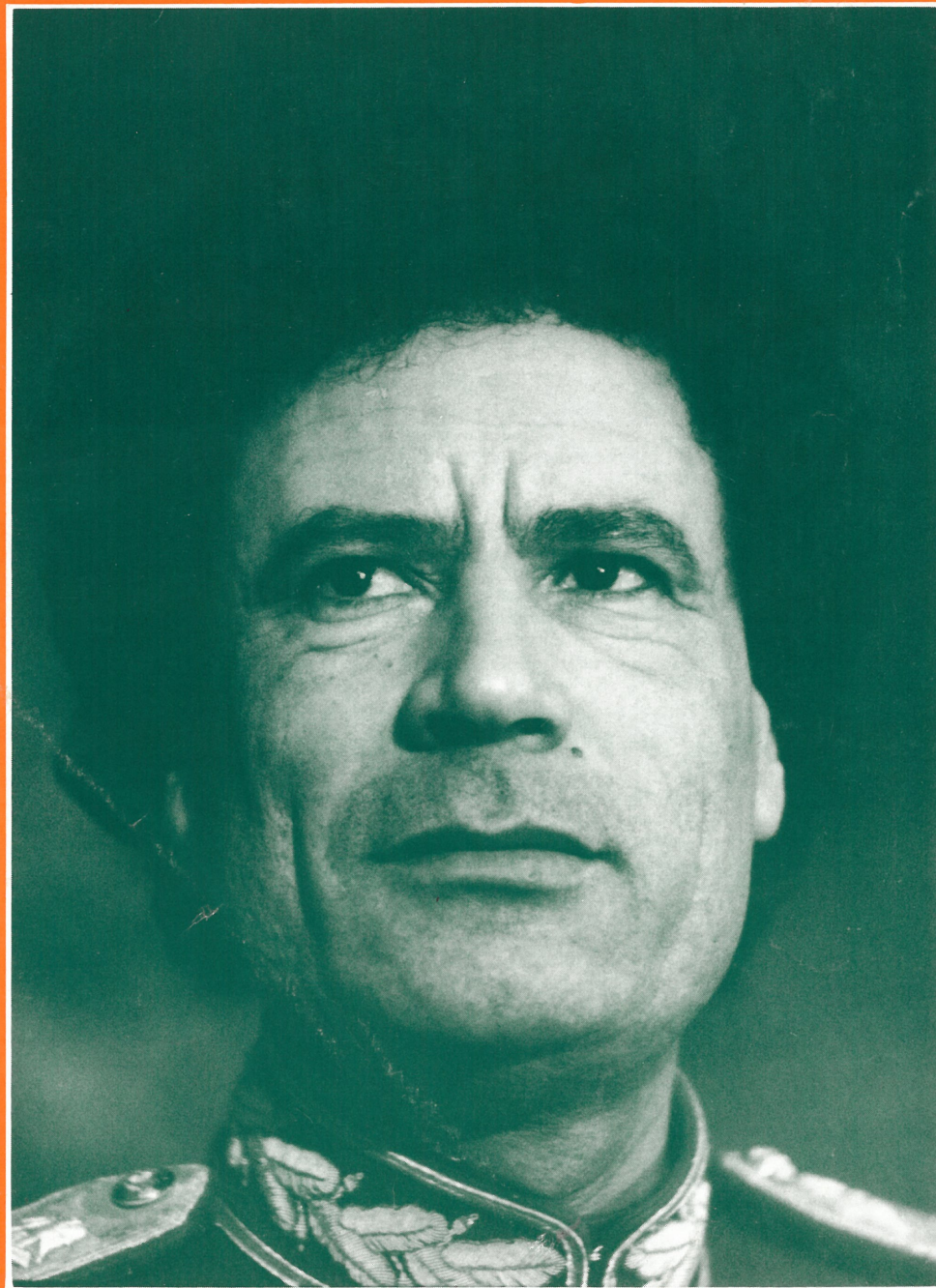
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PART 3

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the structure and priorities
of modern Libya.



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January 1983

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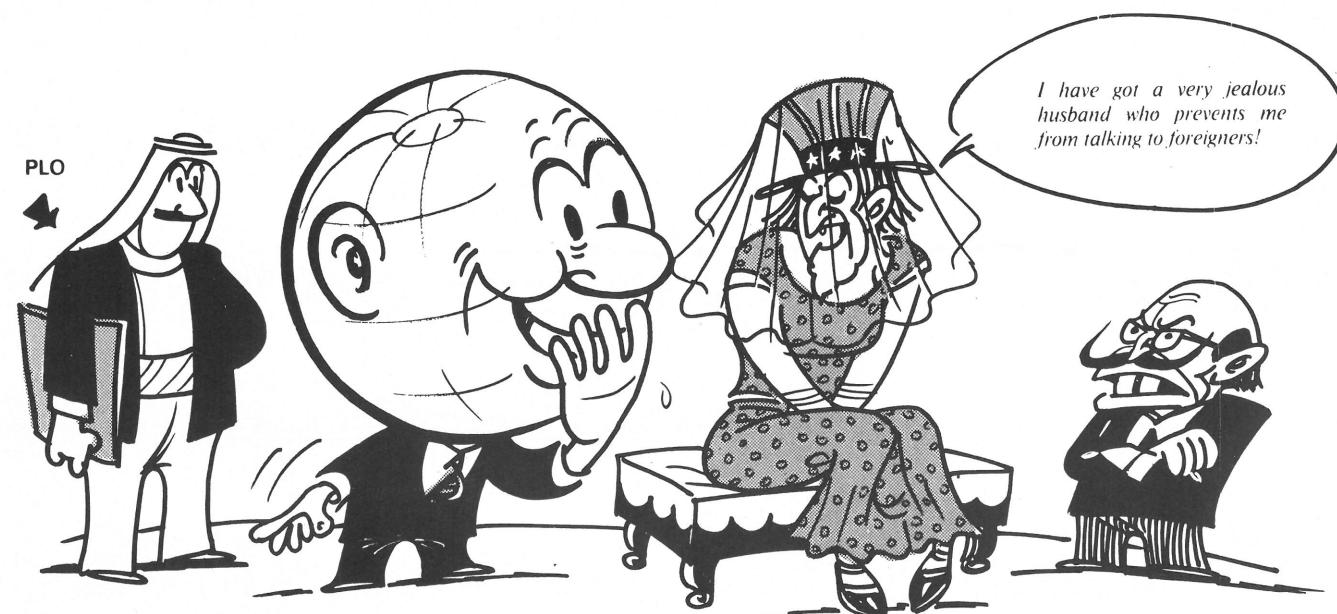
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The road to
democracy in
the Jamahiriya

Libya's equestrian traditions
have a bright future





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jamahiriya review

No 32 January 1983

□ THE BIRTH OF DEMOCRACY IN LIBYA: The Jamahiriya's General People's Congress meets during January in the Libyan capital to review the work of the various secretariats, and to consider the policies of the administration. Its debates are a culmination of a continuous political process which spans the country through a network of basic people's congresses. In a special report on page 14, **Louis Eaks** examines the development of Libya's democratic system from the 1st September Revolution in 1969 to the birth of the Jamahiriya at the Sebha Congress in 1977.

□ EQUESTRIAN TRADITIONS: The cover of this issue shows the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi on horseback at last year's international equestrian show in Tripoli. On page 11, **Isobel Cunningham** reports on Libya's efforts to take on the world's finest equestrian champions, and looks at the development of the Jamahiriya's bloodstock.

□ ARTIST'S PROFILE: On page 13, **Tina Pepler** provides a profile of the Libyan artist Ali Omar Ermes, whose works were recently exhibited in London as part of the Libyan Cultural Season. She found a modest man, but with 'forceful, driving quality and an insistence on excellence'.

□ AFRICAN REPORT: Following the recent African summit in Tripoli, the Jamahiriya has been giving practical form to its commitment to African economic and social development. **Majid al Mansour** reports some of the recent moves on page 9.

□ PALESTINE: 1st January marks the eighteenth anniversary of the first commando operation by the Palestine National Liberation Movement, Al Fateh. **Ali Aziz** examines the reasons for the birth of the Palestinian resistance movement, and questions whether the lessons of the past provide any basis for compromise over armed struggle. See page 10.

□ REVOLUTION IN ACTION: In the latest report on the Jamahiriya's development achievements, **Dr Alan George** examines recent progress in the field of health and welfare in Libya. Report appears on page 17. Other trade and development news is published on pages 18 and 19.

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Foreign Office tricks

THE EFFORTS to improve relations between Britain and the Libyan Jamahiriya are bound to receive a set-back following the recent disclosure that the Foreign Office in London was instrumental in circulating reports of an alleged assassination plot against the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi during November. This unfortunate episode is in the interests of neither country, but in view of the implications it cannot be simply brushed aside as though it never happened.

The incident relates to a report which appeared in three London newspapers on 16th November. A prominent report in *The Guardian*, and shorter items in the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Telegraph* claimed that more than 100 Libyan Army officers had been arrested in late October for planning to assassinate the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi as he landed at Tripoli International Airport on his return from a visit to Peking. Each of the reports was written by the papers' diplomatic correspondent, and although references were made to 'Arab sources' there is no doubt that the real source was a Foreign Office briefing for diplomatic correspondents held the previous afternoon.

There have been numerous reports of attempts on the life of the Libyan leader. In Tripoli these are well recognised as part of the Reagan administration's self-confessed plans to destabilise the Libyan Jamahiriya as a prelude to US intervention to install a compliant regime and weaken Arab rejection of American interference in Arab affairs.

Although the reports were denied in Tripoli, we did our own investigations. There was no positive response. Firstly, no Libyan to whom we spoke was able to confirm even a rumour of such an event. If the story were true, it would be difficult to conceal. Libya, with its small population, is a closely knit society, in which 100 citizens could not be arrested without affecting families in virtually every town and village of the Jamahiriya. Other journalists investigating the reports also failed to find a single Libyan who could confirm the story.

Amnesty International said it has not monitored any reports of arrests in Libya, while British Caledonian confirmed that there had been no disruptions of scheduled flights into or out of Tripoli, nor any reports of the alleged arrests from their men on the ground in the Libyan capital. Other British companies with resident staff in the Jamahiriya also said they had received

no reports of such an incident. Reuter, which had a correspondent in Tripoli at the time said their man could find nothing to substantiate the story, not even a rumour, and they had not carried the report on their wires.

We believe that the story originated from the British Embassy in Tripoli, and was sent as a routine report to the Foreign Office. It then filtered through to their regular briefing session at which British newspapers are fed information and advised how the Foreign Office would like international issues to be reported in the British press and London based news agencies. The briefing system relieves journalists of the arduous task of investigating news stories for themselves and helps to ensure that under the guise of a free press the British newspapers serve British interests in the field of international politics.

How the story originated in the British Embassy in Tripoli may never be known, although the possibility of a deliberate plant by the CIA or French intelligence cannot be discounted; indeed, these are the most likely sources. It would serve two goals; it would disrupt the steady process towards improving relations between Tripoli and London, and at the same time serve a more immediate task.

The immediate task was to create the impression of instability in the Libyan capital on the eve of the November summit of African leaders, and discourage OAU Heads of State from attending for fear of being at the centre of disruption. Both Washington and France were committed to sabotaging the OAU summit.

The incident is bound to sour relations between Libya and Britain. Tripoli has reason to feel aggrieved, and it will take time for confidence to be restored in Britain's claim that it seeks friendly relations with the Jamahiriya.

For Britain much is at stake. Although Britain's exports to Libya dropped in 1982 from the 1981 high of £500 million, both sides were optimistic that 1983 would see the level rise again. As the Secretary-General of the People's Committee at the Libyan People's Bureau in London commented recently during a visit to north-east England, British exports to Libya means employment for British workers. However, if Britain prefers to align itself with Libya's enemies, why should the Jamahiriya give consideration to British exporters?

Marching towards a people's army

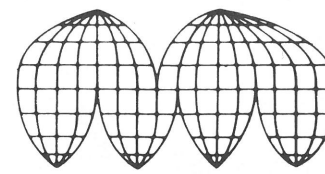
THE NEWS that tens of thousands of regulars of the Libyan Arab army were demobilised recently (see Panorama News Review) marks a further step in the Jamahiriya's moves towards popular democracy. The Libyan Revolution has raised the slogan 'Arms in the hands of the people', and the demobilisation process indicates that the slogan is fast becoming a reality.

No one doubts that Washington has targetted the Jamahiriya for destabilisation in the tradition of the CIA's schemes against Allende's government in Chile. The concept of a popular army rests on confidence in the people of the Jamahiriya to protect their Revolution. A trained and

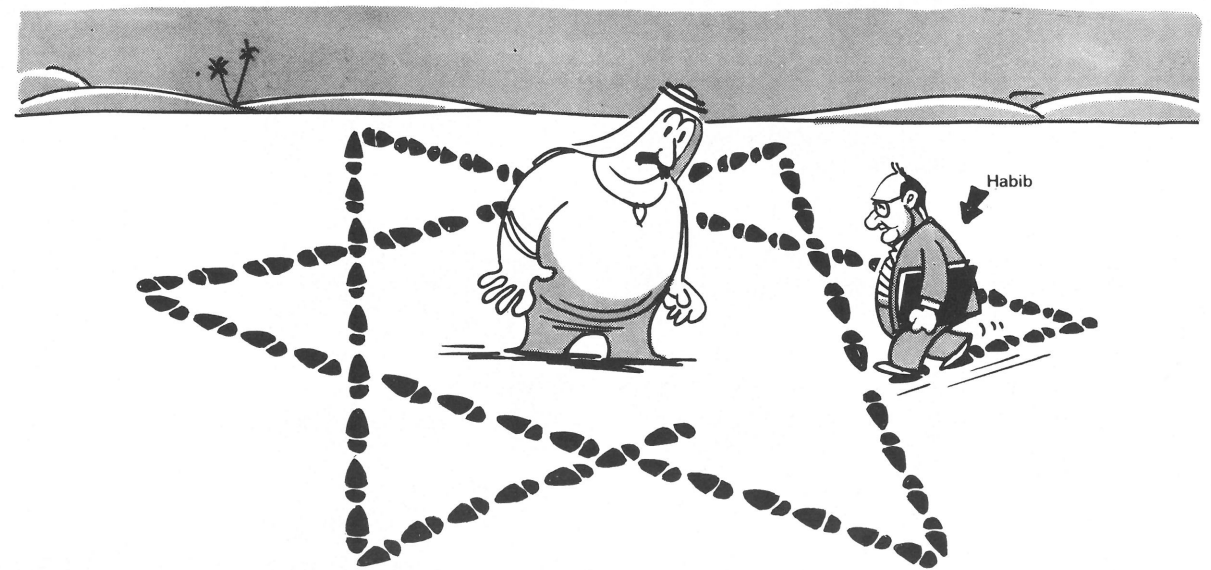
equipped people will offer protracted armed resistance to any invading force, or to any group of American agents who might be tempted by Washington to attempt seizing power in Libya. It would be very difficult to impose some counter-revolutionary regime on the Libyan people.

Moreover, when threats to democracy are often rooted in the armed forces of Third World countries, an armed revolutionary force based amongst the people is also a stabilising factor in any Third World society. 'Arms in the hands of the people' is a simple, but firm, challenge to dictatorship, while at the same time it must strengthen the country's commitment to people's democracy.

A monthly
review of
Libyan, Islamic
and Third World
affairs



PANORAMA
news review



'Armed people' a step closer

A MASSIVE demobilisation of Libyan troops during December marks a major step towards the Jamahiriya's goal of establishing 'arms in the hands of the people', the slogan of the Al Fateh Revolution.

First news of the move came from the Jamahiriya News Agency, JANA, which disclosed that 'tens of thousands of regulars of the Libyan Arab armed forces' had been demobilised.

The concept of an armed people has two important intentions. The first is to ensure that, consistent with the Revolution's declared aim to place all power in the hands of the Libyan people, that the freedom and democracy in the Jamahiriya should at no time be challenged by a military coup, or that the Libyan people should be subjected to oppression from the regular armed forces. The second objective is to ensure that the Libyan people are armed and ready to defend their country in the event of any foreign invasion or attack against the Jamahiriya. In such an event, the military training given to all citizens offers the prospect of fierce civilian resistance and a protracted guerrilla war against any invading force.

For some years, citizens of the Jamahiriya, including women, have been trained in the use of modern weaponry of all kinds to equip themselves with the skills to defend their country and their Revolution in the absence of a regular army.

Protest at effort to sabotage relations with Britain

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has issued a strong protest to Britain over the apparent involvement of the Foreign Office in the dissemination of false reports of a coup attempt against the leadership of the Al Fateh revolution. On 10th December Mr Michael Edes, Britain's Ambassador in Tripoli, was summoned to the Foreign Liaison Bureau, where he was handed what Tripoli radio said was a 'strongly worded memorandum' which stressed that such disinformation campaigns 'directly affected the relations between the two countries and peoples'.

The incident dates back to 16th November, when the *Guardian*, *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily Mail* all carried detailed reports of an alleged plot by Libyan army officers to assassinate Muammer Qadhafi on his return from a visit to China. The reports were completely without foundation, and their timing, on the eve of the OAU summit in Tripoli, revealed a clear political purpose. The aim was evidently to cast doubt on the security situation in Libya, in an effort to dissuade African heads of state from travelling to the summit, and thereby deprive it of the necessary quorum.

The probable involvement of the

Foreign Office in passing on the false reports to British newspapers was revealed in the London weekly *New Statesman* on 10th December, in an article by Alan George, who regularly contributes to *Jamahiriya Review*.

The stories in the British dailies had already been firmly denied at the time they appeared, in a statement by the Libyan People's Bureau in London that they did not mention the Foreign Office by name but expressed the conviction that the false coup reports were put out 'at a single briefing meeting in London on the afternoon of Monday 15th November'. Noting that Britain and Libya were in the process of consolidating political and economic ties, the statement added: 'We deplore any attempt to undermine this effort, which is clearly against the interests of both countries'.

Recent weeks have seen an upsurge in disinformation against the Jamahiriya. In December the Italian media reported that a warrant had been issued for the arrest of a Libyan accused of supplying weapons to fifteen Sardinians who had been arrested for planning armed acts as part of a campaign to separate the island from Italy and set up an independent state of Sardinia. The implication of the reports was that the Jamahiriya was involved in the plot, but on 4th December the Foreign Liaison Bureau firmly denied any official Libyan complicity, saying that if it were true that a Libyan citizen had been involved, then that person had acted purely on his own initiative.

Exeter University welcomes Libyan visitors

THREE MEMBERS of the Libyan People's Bureau in London visited Exeter University in mid-December at the invitation of the Politics Department to meet with members of the Faculty and to tour the facilities of the University, which includes a Centre for Gulf Studies.

The Libyan team, headed by the Secretary-General of the People's Committee, Adem Kuwiri, were able to discuss with Dr Timothy Niblock the prospects for closer co-operation between Exeter and the Jamahiriya's two major universities — Garyounis at Benghazi, and Al Fateh at Tripoli.

Mr Kuwiri was accompanied on the visit by Mr Rahuma Srez, also a member of the People's Committee, and Mr Hameda Zlitni from the Bureau's Political Department. They heard how students in the Political Studies faculty have the opportunity of studying the *jamahiri* political system which exists in Libya.

Last November Mr Kuwiri headed a delegation from the Bureau to the North East of England, which included a visit to the Centre for Middle East Studies at Durham University.

There are currently about 3,500 Libyan students in Britain, taking various courses in technical and post-graduate studies, along with

► degree courses, with the support of grants and scholarships from the Education Secretariat in the Jamahiriya. There are further Libyan students in the UK on privately financed courses.

London Bureau offers help for engineer's wife

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has offered to fly the wife of a jailed British engineer to Tripoli so that she can personally check on his health. On 28th November a Libyan court sentenced Mr Robert Maxwell to a fine and prison term for fraud and other economic crimes committed while working for the Shahat municipality. His wife Grace had expressed fears for his health, and on 2nd December the Libyan People's Bureau in London offered her a free ticket to Tripoli.

Accepting the offer, Mrs Maxwell told news reporters: 'I am very grateful and very excited at the prospect. I very much welcome the initiative, which shows a level of concern and sensitivity about the case on the part of the Libyan administration'.

Following the sentencing of Robert Maxwell, Mr Adem Kuwiri, Secretary of the London People's Bureau, held talks on the case with Mr Douglas Hurd, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, who conveyed British concern. Afterwards, Mr Kuwiri issued a detailed statement, pointing out that Mr Maxwell 'has admitted to the charges against him voluntarily and of his own free will'.

Support for Lesotho

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has pledged its support for the people of Lesotho, following an unprovoked attack on the southern African state by the forces of the Pretoria regime on 9th December. The airborne attack on the capital, Maseru, was aimed at activists in the African National Congress, which seeks to liberate South Africa from apartheid, but some of the raiders missed their targets and women and children were amongst the 37 killed.

In a message to the King of Lesotho, Muammer Qadhafi expressed his deep anger and concern over the South African aggression, saying that the action 'reflected the intransigence of the white racists in South Africa and their violation of the most basic norms of human behaviour'.

Colonel Qadhafi pledged the full support of the Libyan people for



Refugees in Angola: an earlier target of South African aggression

the people of Lesotho, saying that all the Jamahiriya's resources were available to them to counter the racist regime in Pretoria.

The South African aggression against Lesotho was also condemned on 9th December in a statement issued by Dr Ali Abdusalam Treiki, the Jamahiriya's Permanent Representative at the UN. Such aggressions, launched on the pretext that they were aimed at 'terrorists', represented a grave threat to international peace and security, he affirmed, noting that the same excuse had been used for South Africa's occupation of part of Angola and for the Zionist state's invasion of Lebanon.

Anti-apartheid resolutions sponsored

ONE HUNDRED and twenty seven countries have voted in the UN General Assembly for a Libyan-sponsored resolution condemning racial discrimination and supporting the struggle of the South African people against apartheid, the Libyan news agency JANA announced on 9th

December. In keeping with its antagonism towards the cause of Third World liberation, the United States abstained, effectively aligning itself with the racist regime in Pretoria.

JANA added that a similar resolution had been adopted by the UN Security Council on 7th December. Again, the resolution was initiated by the Jamahiriya after discussions between Dr Ali Abdusalam Treiki, Libya's Permanent Representative at the UN, and the African and Non-Aligned groups.

Canadian oil experts recruited

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has recruited thirty four Canadian oil specialists to replace US oil workers who pulled out of Libya in response to the Reagan administration's calls on American workers to leave the country. A team of Libyan officials has been in Canada to recruit the oilmen, and on 5th November the London weekly *Middle East Economic Digest* disclosed that applicants were being

interviewed for a further ninety jobs.

In December 1981 the Reagan administration banned US citizens from travelling to or through the Jamahiriya, and called on those already there to leave. The move was in response to wild and unsubstantiated allegations circulating in Washington that Libya had sent 'hit squads' to assassinate the US President. Later, in March last year, the Reagan administration stepped up its campaign to undermine the Jamahiriya's economy by declaring an economic boycott of Libya.

Reagan's efforts have been only partially successful. Most Americans refused to leave Libya, while friendly countries placed oil technicians at the Jamahiriya's disposal to overcome any temporary dislocations caused by the departure of those few US workers who heeded Reagan's call. In May, for example, ten Iranian oil engineers arrived in Tripoli, and another thirty nine were expected to follow them.

Heavy industry Secretary in Rome

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's Heavy Industry Secretary, Mr Omar al Muntasser, paid a visit to Rome in early December aimed at consolidating ties with Libya's largest trading partner and nearest European neighbour. Amongst the officials with whom he held talks were Italy's Interior and Foreign Trade Ministers, the Chairman of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, and the Chairman of the Christian Democratic group in the Senate and House of Representatives. Mr Muntasser, who is also Chairman of the Libyan Arab-Italian Friendship Society, also held talks with Mr Caroli, Chairman of the Italian-Libyan Friendship Society.

Sixth Fleet returns to its lair

THREE WARSHIPS of the US Sixth Fleet carrying more than one thousand men spent five days in the occupied Palestinian port of Haifa in December, underlining the key military assistance that the Zionist state accords the Pentagon. The supply and rescue ships *USS Edenton*, *Seattle* and *Sylvania* loaded supplies for themselves and other Sixth Fleet vessels, including those lying off Beirut in support of US marines operating in the Lebanese

capital in support of the Lebanese government of Amin Gemayel.

During the Zionist invasion of Lebanon, the US was reluctant to advertise its close links with the Zionist state, and suspended visits by the Sixth Fleet to Israeli ports.

US military exercises in Oman

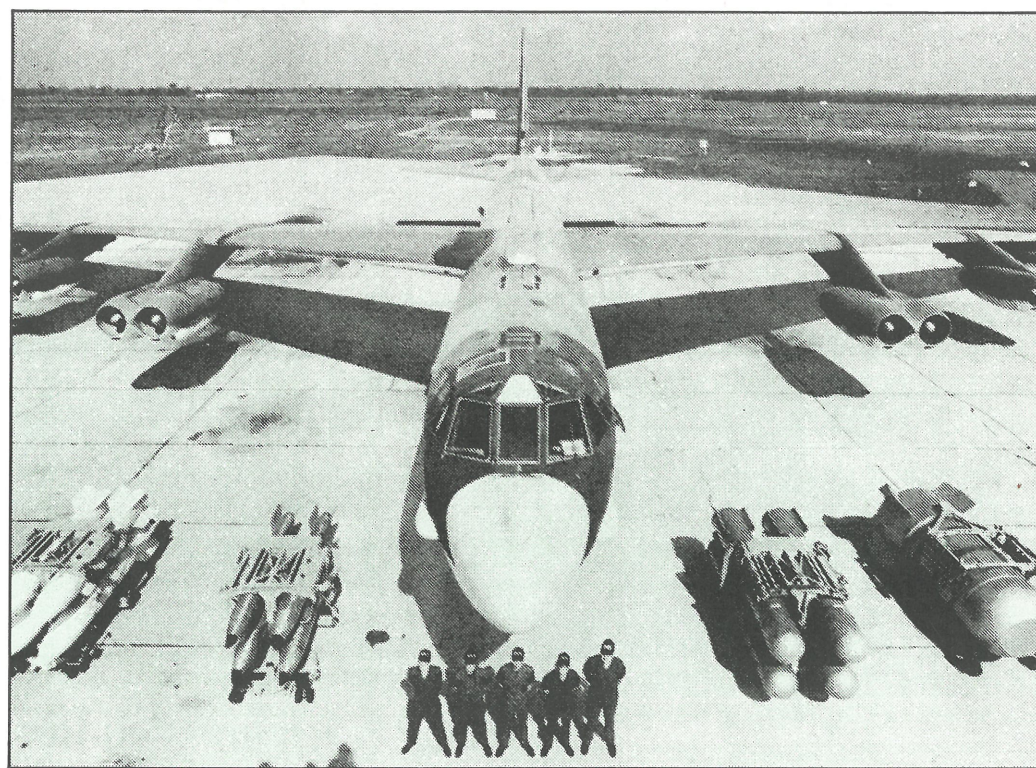
IN ITS latest military provocation in the Arab homeland, the United States has staged a five-day exercise in Oman, designed to test the ability of US forces to act swiftly in the event of a threat to American interests in the Arab Gulf area. During the exercises, which ended on 7th December, marines from the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) came ashore near Duqm, south of Masirah Island, where the US is spending about \$280 million extending the runway of a former British air base and installing a range of other facilities for the RDF. Codenamed 'Jade Tiger' and involving 2,500 troops they were the largest US military manoeuvres in the region since the Bright Star exercises of 1981, which entailed operations by 5,000 soldiers in Egypt, Oman, Somalia and Sudan.

Washington claims that its military activities in the Arab region are designed to safeguard 'the West's oil' from the 'Soviet threat'. The Arabs, however, rightly consider the region's oil as belonging to them, and not to the West or anyone else, and they see claims of a 'Soviet menace' as merely a cover for the real purpose of the US military preparations — to underline Washington's readiness to protest reactionary local regimes from the threat of popular revolutions.

Ashamed of his dependence on US military muscle, Sultan Qabous of Oman insisted that December's 'Jade Tiger' exercises be carried out in total secrecy.

Progressive countries throughout the region have deplored the Jade Tiger manoeuvres. Amongst the fiercest criticism was that from Democratic Yemen, which said that US-made Saudi Arabian F-15 fighter bombers had taken part, and that the exercises violated an accord signed between Aden and Muscat in October which sought to end fifteen years' hostility between the neighbouring countries. On 15th December South Yemeni Foreign Minister Mr Abdul Aziz al Dali declared that the Jade Tiger exercises had 'had surprised and shocked' his country.

The extent of US military ambitions in the Arab region was highlighted on 8th December, when the US Defence Department announced the formation of a new Central Command to safeguard US interests in the region embracing



B52 bomber: exercises in Oman are the latest US provocation

the Arab homeland, the Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Again, the 'Soviet threat' was invoked as a pretext. On 9th December the *International Herald Tribune* quoted a 'senior defence official' as saying: 'We think the Soviets will recognise this as a further step showing that the United States is serious about protecting its interests in that area'.

Unity moves with Tunisia

THE PROJECT for a union between the Jamahiriya and its western neighbour Tunisia has come a step nearer to fulfillment with the signature of a wide-ranging economic and cultural co-operation agreement during a visit to Tunis by Libya's Secretaries for Planning and for Economy and Light Industry.

Described by the Jamahiriya news agency JANA on 9th December as setting out 'a general framework for integration in planning, communications, education and information', the agreement calls *inter alia* for the establishment of a unified customs tariff, with each country giving priority to the other's goods, and for the formulation of an expanded list of goods exempted from duty.

The co-operation agreement, signed on 7th December by Economy and Light Industry Secretary Musa Abu Freiwa and Tunisian Economy Minister Mr Abdulaziz Asram, also commits the two countries to revising the social security accord they signed in June 1973.

Earlier, Tunisian Premier Muhammad Mzali held wide-ranging talks with Mr Abu Freiwa, and with Mr Fawzi Shakshouki, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Planning. Also present was Mr Jum'a Fazzani, who heads the Libyan side on the joint commission set up early last year to examine practical measures aimed at an eventual merger of the two countries.

The project for a Tunisian-Libyan merger was proposed by revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi during a visit to Tunisia last January. Following the pattern already set in similar moves between the Jamahiriya and Algeria and Syria, the aim was not an 'instant union' of territory and political systems, but rather the inauguration of a long-term process entailing the integration of economic and social systems as the foundation for ultimate political union. The Tunisian-Libyan Joint Commission was set up after Colonel Qadhafi's visit, and it was agreed that the Libyan General People's Committee and the Tunisian cabinet would hold joint meetings every six months to examine the progress achieved.

Health Secretary attends child care seminar

MR MURAD Ali Lanqi, the Jamahiriya's Secretary of Health, in December attended a conference in Abu Dhabi on child

health and accidents amongst children in the Arab homeland. Sponsored by the UAE Ministry of Health conference was staged at the Abu Dhabi Hilton hotel. While in the UAE, Mr Ali Lanqi paid visits to local health care facilities, including the Al Jazeera hospital in the UAE federal capital.

Merger talks with Democratic Yemen

TRIPOLI HAS hosted a visit by senior officials from Democratic Yemen, aimed at boosting moves towards the 'union of policies' between the two countries agreed last July. The Yemeni delegation, which arrived on 11th December, included Minister of Culture and Tourism Mr Rashid Muhammad Thabit, Deputy Education Minister Mr Abdullah Ayyad, and the Chairman of the Supreme Committee for the Popular Defence Organisation, Mr Suleiman Nasser Muhammad.

Mr Thabit said that the visit was aimed in particular at co-ordinating policies in the fields of culture and information. Amongst the Libyan officials with whom the delegation met was Mr Ali Balghair, Assistant Secretary-General of the General People's Congress.

Last July an agreement was announced for joint meetings between the Yemeni Cabinet and the Jamahiriya's General Popular Committee and between the General People's Congress and



Increased co-operation between the Jamahiriya and Iran for the benefit of the masses

► Yemen's Supreme People's Council. The Jamahiriya last year launched a series of initiatives with Syria, Algeria, Democratic Yemen and Tunisia, aimed at forging common policies as an essential first step towards ultimate unity.

Agreement with Poland

A WIDE-RANGING bilateral co-operation agreement, covering the development of economic, scientific, technical and industrial ties, was concluded on 8th December at the end of a visit to the Jamahiriya by a Polish delegation headed by General Tadeusz Hupalowski, Minister of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection. The agreement was signed on the Libyan side by Mr Muhammad Ubaid Shukri, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Public Utilities.

During the visit, the Polish team conferred with revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi, with Mr Jadallah Azourz Talhi, Secretary of the General People's Committee, and with the Libyan Secretaries for Communications and Marine Transport and Land Reclamation and Agrarian Reform. Polish firms are actively participating in the Jamahiriya's social and economic development plans, and it is thought that the Polish minister's talks will widen their role.

General Hupalowski's visit underlined the close ties between Tripoli and Warsaw. In September, Muammer Qadhafi held talks in Poland with General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of the Milit-

ary Council for National Salvation, and it was announced that the two countries had agreed in principle to 'pursue the conclusion of a friendship and co-operation accord as soon as possible'.

Chinese youth delegation cements ties

THE LATEST sign of the close relations between the Libyan Jamahiriya and the People's Republic of China came in December when a delegation from the Chinese General Youth Federation toured Libya at the invitation of the General Union of Students in the Jamahiriya. Amongst the highlights of the tour were visits to the Faculties of Education and Nuclear Engineering at Tripoli's Al Fateh University, to the ruins of the historic city of Sab-ratha, on the coast to the west of the Libyan capital, to the nearby Zawiyeh oil refinery, to the International Equestrian School in Tripoli, and to the agricultural projects in the Jebel Akhdar in the north east of the Jamahiriya.

Chinese support for the Sadat regime in Cairo had soured Peking's relations with Tripoli, but a rapprochement during 1982 culminated with a visit to China in October by revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi. At a ceremony of welcome at Peking's Great Hall of the People, the Libyan leader stressed the need for closer links between the two countries, at a time of increasing threats posed by the United States to the economic and political independence of Third World and Non-Aligned countries.

Progress on ties with Iran

A HIGH level delegation from the Jamahiriya arrived in Tehran on 8th December for talks with the Iranian leadership aimed at bolstering bilateral ties. The mission, headed by Foreign Liaison Secretary Mr Abdel Ati al Ubeidi, and including Mr Abdulrahman Shalgam, Secretary of the Administrative Committee for Revolutionary Information, held several rounds of talks with Iranian officials, including Premier Mr Mir Hussain Mousavi, Hujatolislam Hashimi Rafsanjani, President of the Islamic Consultative Council and Imam Khomeini's representative to the Supreme Defence Council, and Foreign Minister Dr Ali Akbar Velayati.

Welcoming the Libyan team, Foreign Minister Velayati affirmed that the talks would centre on the implementation of agreements concluded last June during a visit to Tehran by a Libyan delegation headed by Staff Major Abdul Salam Jalloud, and during Dr Velayati's subsequent visit to the Jamahiriya. Major Jalloud's delegation included the Jamahiriya's Secretaries for Economy and Light Industry, Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation, Oil and Revolutionary Information. A number of sub-committees were set up to examine ways of strengthening ties in the fields of transport and communications, light industry, trade, oil, information and culture.

Amongst the specific joint projects to which the two countries pledged themselves were the establishment of an Islamic radio station, an Islamic revolutionary news agency and an Islamic University. Another major outcome of

Major Jalloud's visit was an agreement that Libya would press for Iranian admittance to membership of the Arab Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, formed to counter the US-sponsored Camp David accords and linking the Jamahiriya, Algeria, Democratic Yemen, the PLO and Syria.

Protest at western cash for Habre

THE CHADIAN Foreign Minister, Mr Muhammad Nour Adam, has strongly condemned a UN conference in Geneva that ended on 30th November after receiving pledges from western governments of between \$150 million and \$170 million for the 'reconstruction of Chad'.

Pointing out that the meeting had been attended by representatives of the Reagan administration, France and reactionary Arab regimes, Mr Adam said that the aim of the symposium was merely to shore up financially the illegal regime of Hisene Habre in the Chad capital N'Djamena. Without such western support, he added, the Habre regime would face 'inevitable collapse'.

Mr Adam is Foreign Minister in the Chad Transitional Government of National Unity (GUNT), which links eleven major political groupings in Chad and was recognised by the 1981 OAU summit in Nairobi as the legitimate government of Chad. He affirmed that some two thirds of Chad territory remained under the authority of the GUNT, and that the writ of Hisene Habre hardly extended beyond the Chad capital.

Habre, the former GUNT defence minister, seized power in N'Djamena last year after staging a protracted and bloody rebellion backed by the United States, Egypt and Sudan.

Role in anti-imperialist struggle hailed

THE LEADING role of the Libyan Jamahiriya in supporting peoples oppressed by colonialism has been acknowledged in a letter to Muammer Qadhafi from the Deputy Chairman of the special UN Committee on Decolonisation, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed on 2nd December. Specifically citing the Al Fateh Revolution's support for the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa, the message affirmed that efforts to free the continent from foreign control were fully in accord with African interests.

Top priority for African development

ADDRESSING AFRICAN heads of state at their Tripoli summit in November, Muammer Qadhafi urged that the highest priority should be given to confronting the continent's pressing economic and social challenges, as well as to aiding the struggle against racism in South Africa and Namibia. Whether or not the OAU summit convened, he added, was in itself much less important than achieving practical progress on inter-African co-operation.

Firm evidence of the sincerity of the Libyan leader's call has come with the recent conclusion of co-operation agreements with Cape Verde and the Central African Republic. Technical and economic co-operation accords and a cultural agreement providing for the exchange of experts and educational delegations, and co-operation in training schemes, were signed in Tripoli in late November during a visit by Premier Pedro Verona Rodrigues of Cape Verde. In addition, the two countries agreed on the formation of a joint committee at ministerial level to oversee the development of relations in all fields.

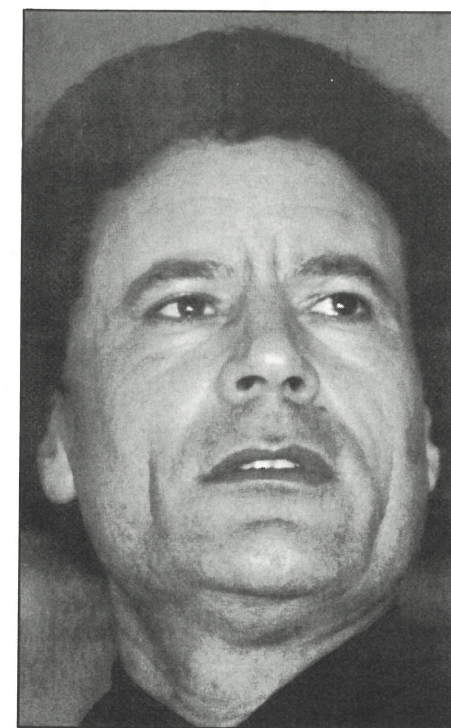
A joint communique on 30th November showed that the Jamahiriya and Cape Verde share a common perception of the challenges facing Africa. Both expressed their 'concern regarding increased foreign interference in Africa's internal affairs', and affirmed 'the importance of economic, political and cultural co-ordination, solidarity and co-operation between African countries'.

Similar agreements, providing for economic, social and cultural co-operation, and for the establishment of a joint committee for the consolidation of economic and social ties, were signed during a visit to Libya by the Foreign Minister of the Central African Republic, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced on 2nd December.

And in a further recent move aimed at increased inter-African co-operation, the Madagascan Foreign Minister Christian Remi Richardo arrived for talks in the Jamahiriya on 1st December, accompanied by the Director-General of the Central Bank of Madagascar.

Priority

The Al Fateh Revolution has consistently given high priority to the provisions of development assistance to the poorer countries of Africa, and impressive progress has been achieved. Much of the Jamahiriya's foreign aid is channelled through *multilateral agencies* of which the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA) and the OPEC Special Fund are the largest. In the past seven years BADEA



AT THE African summit in Tripoli in November, Muammer Qadhafi stressed that African economic and social development was no less urgent than the liberation struggles in Namibia and South Africa. Majid al Mansour reviews recent moves by Libya to strengthen inter-African co-operation, and summarises the impressive achievements of the Jamahiriya's aid programme in the continent.

has distributed aid totalling \$7 billion, and in 1980 alone the figure was \$1.5 billion. In 1981 alone the OPEC Special Fund disbursed aid to the Third World totalling \$7 billion. The Jamahiriya also contributes to the Islamic Development Bank and the UAE-Libyan Fund for African Development.

It is *joint banks* and development companies, however, which form the backbone of the Jamahiriya's aid programme in Africa. Joint development banks have been set up with Togo, Chad, Uganda, Niger and Mauritania. The Libyan-Togolese bank, in

which half the ten million French franc capital was contributed by Libya, typifies these institutions' financial structure.

Joint holding companies, with subsidiaries involved in a range of development activities, have been set up with Uganda and Burundi, and there are plans for another in Ghana. The Libyan Arab-Uganda Holding Company has a capital of \$50 million, and overseas the operations of five subsidiaries.

A third major conduit for development aid are jointly funded *development companies*. In Guinea, for example, there is a joint Agricultural Corporation, a joint Maritime Fishing Company, and a joint Alumina Company, engaged in bauxite mining and alumina production, in which the Jamahiriya is involved with five other Arab countries. Other African countries in which some companies have been established include Gabon, Benin, Rwanda, the Malagasey Republic, Togo, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Mauritania.

In addition to channelling cash aid through the multilateral aid agencies, the Libyan Jamahiriya also extends '*soft*' loans directly linked to specific development schemes. In 1978, for example, Libya loaned \$50 million to Guinea to meet part of the construction costs of a dam and an alumina plant.

Road development

African countries have also benefitted from *direct grants* from Libya to finance specific projects. In Burundi, for example, Libya is financing a road development programme entailing the upgrading of three roads, totalling 324 kilometres, at a cost of \$128.8 million. Direct grants in kind are another way in which the Jamahiriya aids African nations. In 1981 Tripoli donated to Benin a French-built Dassault-Breguet Mystere-Falcon 50 executive jet, to assure greater mobility for the west African country's leadership. Last year, Libya acted to help Ghana overcome a short-term economic crisis by sending large shipments of oil, food aid, and medical supplies.

A final tier in the Jamahiriya's aid programme reflects Tripoli's commitment to Islam, and naturally focusses on African countries with large Muslim communities. Through the UAE-Libyan Commission for Islamic Cultural Centres, Libya is helping to fund the establishment of cultural centres in Africa. The latest centre was opened in Rwanda in 1981, and another is under construction in the Gambian capital Bangui. Tenders have been invited for another in Togo. At the centre of each is a mosque, and other facilities include schools, libraries, lecture halls and medical dispensaries.

Eighteen years of armed struggle

EIGHTEEN YEARS ago this month, Palestinian commandos of the Fatah resistance group launched their first operation against the Zionist state, marking the start of the Palestinian people's organised armed struggle to regain their homeland. The long interval between the Zionist seizure of Palestine in 1948 and the start of Palestinian commando raids stemmed above all from the misplaced hopes that had been placed first in the world community, and then in the Arab regimes. It was a period in which the Palestinians learned the hard way that the world was not interested in their plight, and that the position of the Arab governments was much the same.

In the years immediately after their exile in 1948, the Palestinians were a leaderless and shattered people, in no position to continue the battle against the Zionists by themselves. They had little choice but to pin their hopes of return on international diplomacy, and particularly on the efforts of the western powers, headed by the United States, that backed Israel. After the war, the United Nations had resolved that the refugees should return, and the exiled Palestinians assumed that the resolution would eventually be implemented. But it was a fundamental mistake to hope for a change of heart by the very states that had encouraged and supported the Zionist movement for the previous fifty years. The only 'solution' offered by the west was the permanent mass resettlement of the Palestinians in the Arab homeland. It was a formula designed to safeguard the Zionist state, which had become an important western military asset. Such proposals denied the Palestinian people their most basic human and national rights.

Regimes

In the next phase of their exile, the Palestinians looked to Arab unity and a new generation of Arab regimes. In 1954, when Gamal Abdul Nasser ousted the corrupt, British-backed monarchy in Egypt, it seemed that a tide of pan-Arab nationalism would engulf the region, sweeping away the regimes that had done so little to aid the Palestinian people during the 1948 war, and which had since exerted virtually no efforts, either on the international stage or militarily, to counter the Zionists.

Palestinians, with their bitter first hand experience of Zionist methods, were aware that armed resistance was the Arabs' only valid option. Israel's overwhelming military superiority, however, made Arab unity an essential prerequisite for effective conventional battle against the Zionists. Palestinians therefore threw their energies into the rapidly expanding political parties that

THE HISTORY of the Palestine conflict is marred by the refusal of Arab regimes to support military action against the Zionists. To mark the eighteenth anniversary of the birth of organised Palestinian armed struggle, Ali Aziz examines the harsh lessons that the Palestinians have had to learn.

advocated Arab unity — the Ba'athists and Nasserists, for example.

Yet even the most fervently 'revolutionary' of the regimes that came to power in the 1950s took few practical measures to assist the struggle for Palestinian rights. Resistance operations were mounted against the Zionist state, but only by small and disorganised Palestinian groups, and often the armies of the Arab regimes constituted a greater threat to their success than

the Zionist enemy itself. Fearful of Israeli reprisal raids, the regimes' main preoccupation was to keep Palestinian military action in check. By the early 1960s the Palestinians were coming to realise that if their country was to be liberated it would be through their own efforts, and those of the Arab people, rather than through the Arab governments.

It was in this period of disillusionment that Al Fatah and other commando groups were formed. They acted independently of the Arab regimes, and of each other, and their operations were initially on a small scale, entailing little more than the sabotage of vulnerable Israeli installations such as water pipelines. In the two and one half years preceding the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Palestinian commandos killed only eleven people and wounded only 62.

Demise

The crushing Arab defeat in 1967 marked the final demise of the heady 1950s brand of pan-Arabism, and prompted a profound cynicism by the Arab nation at regimes whose claims of unstinting support for the Palestinians had again been exposed as hollow. The only bright spot was the Palestinian commando groups, who had demonstrated their readiness for combat and had never damaged their credibility by exaggerating their capabilities.

A watershed for the Palestinian resistance came in March 1968, when about 350 commandos attacked a large Israeli armoured and infantry column that had advanced across the Jordan river to raid the Karameh refugee camp. The Zionists lost at least 21 dead and several tanks and other armoured vehicles. For the Israelis, these were unprecedented casualties in a reprisal raid. Inspired by Karameh, Arab volunteers flocked to join the ranks of the guerrillas.

The Palestinian resistance has since moved from strength to strength, culminating last summer in their heroic stand against the savage Israeli invasion of Lebanon. But always the Arab regimes have proved to be at least as great a threat to the integrity of the struggle as the Zionist state itself. At a time when some regimes, prompted by the United States, are urging the Palestinians to abandon their armed struggle and recognise the Zionist state and its aggressions of 1948, it is more important than ever that the Palestinians should not lose sight of the lessons of the past, for which they paid so dearly.

In 1974, the former Zionist leader Yitzhak Rabin said: 'The one and only meeting place with the PLO is on the battlefield.' That is still the Israeli position, and the Palestinians have no choice but to adopt the same approach.

Libya urges effective measures by UN

SPEAKING IN the annual General Assembly debate on the Palestine question in December, the Jamahiriya's UN delegate called for firm and practical measures by the international community to halt Israel's aggressions against the Palestinian and Arab peoples.

Despite the growing international recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate right to self determination in an independent state of their own in Palestine, Israel had stepped up its war against the Palestinians, the Libyan delegate said. The savage invasion of Lebanon had been only the testimony to the threat posed by the Zionist state to world peace and security.

Urging the international community to adopt firm measures against Israel, 'such as a political and military boycott', the Jamahiriya's delegate noted that past attempts to take such action had been blocked by the United States. He nevertheless predicted that the day would come when the American people would question their government's support for injustice and aggression, and would reconsider the massive US economic and military aid to Israel which underpinned the Zionist state's aggressive capability.

Equestrian traditions have a bright future



Muammar Qadhafi

ALTHOUGH IT is still early days Libya's new horsebreeding industry seems to be succeeding. There has, of course, been an established tradition in this sphere which is as old as the Arab Nation itself, and this has supplied the country's horsemen with speedy and extremely hardy mounts both in time of war and peace. But it is interesting to discover that since the September Revolution, 13 years ago, and the emergence of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, new social demands have fostered new requirements of horse breeding. I was fortunate enough to be present at the press conference given by Colonel Qadhafi after the closing ceremony on October 21 of the 1982 6th International Tripoli Horse Show when he said that Libya looked upon international equestrian competition as 'very important for forging links of friendship and understanding both by inviting the riders of other countries to compete in Jamahiriya, and by sending Libyan teams to participate in competitions abroad'.

The evolution of the hardy Arab horses, which incidentally, form an interesting and impressive part of the Tripoli show as they participate in the national horse show on the Popular Racecourse which flanks the international show jumping arena, was not directed towards, and indeed hundreds of years ago could not have foreseen, the

LIBYA IS rapidly establishing a reputation in the field of equestrian sport. Although the skills of horsemanship are deeply rooted in the country's heritage, it has been only recently that Libya has become a force in international events. Behind the scenes careful purchasing, breeding and training have become a hallmark of the Libyan Equestrian and Shooting Federation. As a result, the Jamahiriya's bloodstock and riders appear set for a bright future, according to this profile of the sport by Isobel Cunningham.

requirements of international competition. So since 1975 the Libyan Equestrian and Shooting Federation has embarked on an extensive programme of purchasing horses

suitable for this international aspect of the country's considerable equestrian heritage.

The bulk of these purchases have been made in Ireland, with some British and German horses acquired as well. Initially the animals brought were mature trained stock ready to take the young Libyan riders (mainly recruited from the army) into competitions both at home and abroad. The wisdom of this reasoning succeeded beyond all belief at the 1981 Tripoli International Show when Mohammed Sgaier, a 24-year-old soldier triumphed over riders from ten other nations to win the show jumping Grand Prix. It was a momentous occasion. In six short years Libyan strategy had paid off handsomely, and established the country on the international showjumping scene and it had been achieved with an 18-year-old Irish mare, brought at the outset of this plan. Now named Jamila, the mare had showjumped for Ireland under the name of Woodpecker and had taken part in the 1972 European Showjumping Championships where she won second place ridden by Ireland's Paul Darragh now a world wide established name on the showjumping scene. But Jamila is significant for more than that marvellous victory at the Tripoli Show. She has already bred a foal, which although born in Ireland is now in the Jamahiriya, and she will soon be used to breed further foals which hopefully will



Last year's Grand Prix winner Jamila, ridden by Mohammed Assgair

► become mounts for future Libyan riders in international showjumping contests.

Breeding

The policy of buying mature animals is still continuing. In 1975 Libya bought 8 of this type of horse from Ireland costing £75,000 in Irish currency. Last year the figure had gone up to 28 and the value to £124,000. But side by side with these purchases breeding stock is now being bought. In 1979 this consisted of 7 mares, 2 fillies, 4 colts and 1 stallion, valued at £1,000,000 Irish currency rate.

In 1980 a further 33 thoroughbreds were imported for approximately the same sum. These animals are now based mainly at the very modern racecourse to the East of

Tripoli or the magnificently equipped Equestrian Centre to the West where the International Show is held each October.

At this centre air conditioned stabling, a swimming pool and very modern veterinary facilities aid the immigrants acclimatisation. Dr Dermot Forde, an eminent Irish veterinary surgeon, who when he was associated with the Irish Horse Board, helped to arrange many of these Libyan purchases, saw the horses when he attended the October show and told me he was most impressed with the condition of the former Irish horses in spite of Libya just having come through her hottest summer for 40 years with the thermometer at times touching 130 degrees in the desert and even Tripoli in the cooler coastal strip having to close its airport on occasions when the heat

made take-offs impossible and car cooling systems just gave up completely. Dr Ford pronounced the Thoroughbreds he saw to be 'very, very well, and foals and yearlings well grown'. In view of this and the long tradition of association and affinity with horses which the people of Jamahiriya have in abundance there seems no reason when this branch of horse breeding in Libya should not eventually flourish and become as successful as the indigenous Arabstan breeds, which after all were the forefathers of the Western world's thoroughbreds.

When Libya wins her first international showjumping competition with a horse bred in the Jamahiriya with the new horse breeding tradition will be truly established too!

Mounted horsemen at the opening ceremony of the Tripoli Horse Show



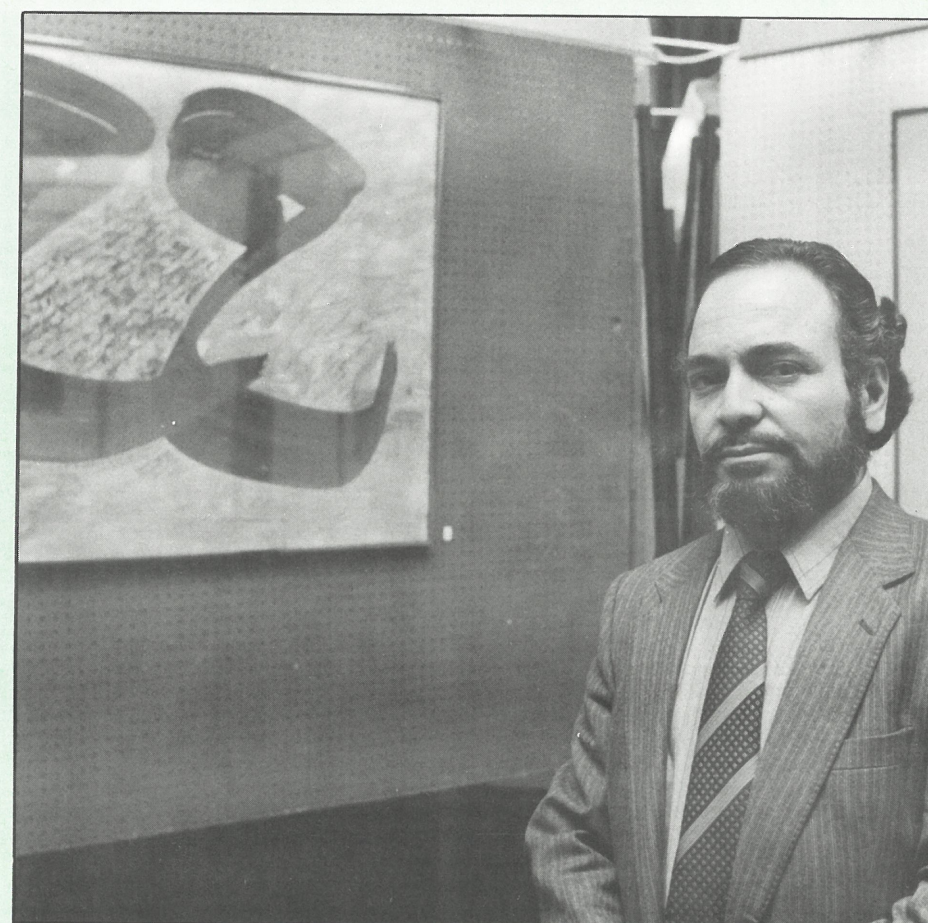
Ali Omar Hermes, painter, graphic designer and writer, was born in Libya in 1945. He was only seventeen years old when he participated for the first time in a painting exhibition held in Tripoli, and he was twenty when, as part of the Tripoli International Fair, he held a one man exhibition. Success overseas soon followed: in the late sixties Hermes' work was shown at the Africa Centre in London and at the Plymouth City Gallery. Invitations came to participate in exhibitions all over the Arab world and in Paris, Washington and Manila. In 1973 Hermes was visual arts editor of Libya's All Arts Magazine. Before he was thirty he had gathered prestige and recognition enough, through his painting and his writing about Islamic arts and crafts, to be appointed Visual Arts Director of the World of Islam Festival, London.

Yet a dominant trait in the character of Ali Omar Hermes is his modesty. The most recent London showing of his work was held in the Royal Overseas League as part of the Libyan Cultural Season in late October/early November. In the catalogue one item was listed as 'written in the NASHKI style but not very good quality'. Hermes explains this attitude in terms of the deeply-rooted religious faith that guides and inspires all his work.

Islam does not make things easy for the artist, posing instead what might appear as conflicts between the demands of Islam and the creative power of the artists. Modesty — born of a Muslim's hatred for deliberate deception of any kind including deception in art — carries difficult implications: what, after all, is truth in art, and how is a man to know he can decide? At the same time as forbidding misrepresentation of the 'truth' Hermes' religion discourages figurative art.

Islam does not ban the creative act of painting, but counsels a fearfulness of trying to rival nature. Even the heightened reality of Cezanne's apples or Van Gogh's sunflowers get a wary reaction from Hermes: they are caricatures he says. Figurative art must be rejected because if you repeat an image you destroy it; repetition breaks the unique identity and beauty of the old visual language, makes it less alive, and fails in its attempt at rivalry. Abstract art and Cubism too are anti-Islam: image breaking movements in art cannot draw the true Muslim. Hermes decided early in his career to try instead to paint man made images, his own new creations, through different ways of presenting beauty.

So Ali Omar Hermes follows no school. His work is neither figurative nor abstract; and, he insists, he is not a calligrapher, although his efforts are concentrated mainly on the depiction of Arabic letter forms. Calligraphy, Hermes maintains, is in Islam an exceedingly formal art, with rules, and specific standards which must be met, for the term 'calligraphy' to apply. This artist's unique brand of Islamic trad-



Ali Omar Hermes pictured at his recent exhibition which formed part of the Libyan Cultural Season in London

Profile of a Libyan artist

DURING THE recent Libyan Cultural Season in London Tina Pepler talked to the Libyan artist Ali Omar Hermes, who explained his approach to art. She found a modest man, but detected 'a forceful, driving quality, an insistence on excellence' in his bid to provide a bridge between literature and visual art.

itionalism centres on his search for colour combinations and compositions of letter forms which will make a breathing space, even a kind of bridge, between literature and visual art. He uses painting to present afresh the classical literature and wisdom of the Arabs, to establish a new, different relationship between reading and seeing, and to reveal the beauty of literature through painting.

There is today, Hermes says, a neglect of the classical literature, brought about by the advent of mass media: TV, multiple choice

amongst junk magazines and fast reading, radio; he wants to take this half-forgotten literature of the past and reassess it.

It seems, then, that a certain kind of modesty does not deny another kind of ambition. There is in Hermes a forceful, driving quality, an insistence on excellence. Strict, he says, 'is the opposite of garbage'. This was his answer to a question on the difficulty facing visitors to his most recent London exhibition who could not read Arabic and who therefore missed part of his message. 'They should learn Arabic', he said. Yet outright deception is not to be countenanced. Here we come full circle and experience for ourselves some of the choices and conflicts inherent in Hermes' artistic endeavour.

At least for the non-Arabic-speakers who visited the November exhibition there was some equal ground when they came to the display of Hermes' photographs. With a camera, Hermes' work is not exactly experimental. The photographs represent, a record, in the manner of painting, of images and colours, a selection of beauties together; beauties in nature, crafts and architecture, for instance. Hermes brought to these pictures a painter's attitude to photography and composition. A strict painter's attitude: hence images precisely and memorably evoked.



General People's Congress meets annually in January

The road to democracy

FROM THE early days of the Al Fateh Revolution in Libya on 1st September 1969, it was evident that this was to be no ordinary revolution in which political power is merely transferred from one political or military elite to another. In a world, especially the Third World, where power always seems to be vested firmly in the hands of a dictatorial regime, the Libyan Revolution which thrust Muammer Qadhafi into the forefront of international politics was to herald new ideas about how the ordinary individual could be given access to the decision making process on which a new democracy would be based.

Initially, following the overthrow of the Idris regime, which was effectively controlled by Britain and the United States, the moves towards a new political system were slow to emerge. Nevertheless, observers of Libyan politics after the Revolution were left in little doubt, from the speeches of Muammer Qadhafi, that a new political system of democracy was in his mind.

The early years of the Revolution, it

IN LIBYA, January is the month in which the General People's Congress convenes to review the policies of the country and the reports of the various Secretariats. Louis Eaks examines the development of Libya's political system from the Revolution in 1969 to the creation of the Jamahiriya in 1977.

might be argued, were devoted to other priorities. Foreign military bases were to be expelled from the country, as Libya asserted its right to positive non-alignment; the crippling control of the petroleum multinationals had to be confronted, along with

the pricing system for oil which provided rich profits for the oil companies and little benefit for Libya and its people.

These were exciting years by any standards. The country, under a new revolutionary leadership, pressed ahead with the urgent tasks of dealing with the economic and social problems inherited from the old regime. Revenue to finance an ambitious development programme was secured by breaking the power of the oil companies, and raising the price of oil to a more equitable level. A new voice was being heard in the Arab region which challenged the traditional submission of the Arab regimes to the influence of the super powers, whether from the East or the West. Hospitals, clinics, schools, infrastructure, and a new industrial base for the economy began to emerge.

On the political level, however, these were not years to be marked by any radical change. New governments were formed, with a traditional form of administration by cabinet and Prime Minister. Ultimate direction of government affairs was held by the Revolution Command Council, under the

leadership of Muammer Qadhafi, as the Revolution worked to consolidate its support and imprint its priorities.

However, they were also years in which Muammer Qadhafi and his revolutionary colleagues were formulating ideas on how a new system of democracy could be created in Libya. The essence of the new democracy was to be popular participation in the decision-making process, both as a principle on which democracy should be based, and also to undermine the traditional power held by the civil service and the wealthy merchant classes.

To open up the centre of political power to more popular control, the Arab Socialist Union was formed in July 1977, a mirror image of the ASU created in Egypt under Nasser. In a small way it did provide a gesture towards democracy, but in Qadhafi's eyes it was merely a token; it failed to become a powerhouse for revolutionary change, because it was too dominated by the country's more conservative elements, and traditional politicians. Progress was also effectively obstructed by civil servants. This bastion of officials exists in every country, devoted to maintaining control over government and blocking initiatives towards major radical reform, especially when it concerns reducing the power of the civil service and enhancing that of the citizens of the country.

Major shift

The first major shift in power came on 16th April 1973, when Muammer Qadhafi called for the creation of people's committees. They should exist, he said, 'in every village, city, faculty, institute, harbour, airport and popular organisation'. It was a clear challenge to the traditional establishment, aimed at shifting the basis of power towards popular control.

Throughout the country demonstrations were held in towns and villages, and the people marched on local government offices demanding that committees should take over control. In the next few weeks more than 2,000 such popular committees were reported to have been formed.

It would be superficial to claim that popular democracy was created by these events, but nevertheless they were a signal, firstly to the traditional holders of power that their role in government, whether national or local, would in future depend on their commitment to revolutionary change, and their effectiveness in serving the people. At the same time, the initiative set in motion by Muammer Qadhafi was clearly intended to make individual Libyan citizens more conscious of their potential in a new political system.

It could be argued that two factors worked to obstruct this development. Firstly, as in most countries, Libyan citizens were not accustomed to being involved in politics; the old monarchy had never

opened the doors of government to anyone other than a small number of families and individuals close to the King. Apathy towards politics had been positively encouraged, and this apathy had, itself, to be broken. Secondly, many of the committees embraced people who were happy to seize political control, but who were hardly committed to sharing that power with the people. Many committees were simply a smaller version of the transfer of power from one elite to another which characterises the kind of coup that Qadhafi despises.

Consequently, concern at the failure of these committees was signalled in September 1974, when Abdulsalam Jalloud, then Prime Minister, called on citizens 'to rise to their responsibilities'. He stressed the need for 'peaceful democratic' action, and urged the reorganisation of the system 'to be popular in structure'.

The Libyan news agency ARNA elaborated on Jalloud's message, advising that 'citizens should select the members most suited to serve the people and solve their problems'. In effect it was both a signal that the committees were too often in the control of inexperienced people or those committed to more conventional and traditional politics, as well as a call for the country's skilled citizens to come into the political system, and play a full and effective role in building the new socialist society envisaged by the Revolution and outlined in the country's development programme.

ARNA urged that popular committees should be formed in the directorates of education, agriculture and labour, and called for steps towards greater workers' control. The popular committees, said ARNA, should be 'open to all people including employees'. The agency proposed that 'the health committee should include doctors, nurses and medical technicians; educational committees should include people with experience of educational affairs'.

In Zawia, a town near Tripoli, for example, citizens staged a march on the municipal building, and a new twenty man committee was formed, while at the southern city of Sebha, airport employees and labourers took over from the old management. And similar events took place throughout the country.

Green Book

Concern at the power which is vested in centralised socialist governments was voiced in early 1975, when Muammer Qadhafi addressed a conference of Nasserists and Gaullists being held in the Libyan city of Benghazi. He told the conference, 'The most dangerous thing is for society's ownership to be in the hands of government, because government has the power in addition to its ownership of resources. In this way, it becomes an instrument of dictatorship for society.'

He added, 'If the government — which has the power of law, the power of decision, and other organisations — takes control, and if, in addition, it owns the people, then it will dominate society. This is what happened in communist societies.'

1975 also saw the publication of the first volume of the **Green Book**, in which Qadhafi devoted his attention to the question of democracy, and the problems of parliamentary democracy in particular. It was to become the blueprint for democracy in Libya. He called for democracy to rest firmly in the hands of the people; conventional political parties sought, first and foremost, to secure power for themselves, and distorted the political issues which needed to be resolved. Parliaments, he argued, rather than being a forum for democracy, stood accused of usurping power, leaving the citizens without any effective control over the country's policies in the long years between elections. Moreover, in reality, politicians, once elected, put the interests of their party before those of the country, and were able to support decisions and adopt political positions on issues which had never been put before the voters.

The publication of Volume One of the **Green Book** was to herald a new public debate about the form of democracy which Libya was to create. In October 1975, new moves came to change the political system, and to take the country further along the path towards the Jamahiriya. The Arab Socialist Union and the Revolution Command Council were abolished. Local popular committees elected representatives to a national congress comprising 1,000 members.

Libya was moving towards the **jamahiri** system, and on 29th December 1976, Muammer Qadhafi called for 'people's rule' and proposed that the popular committees should prepare for a national conference on 1st March 1977.

It was on that date that the General People's Congress convened in Sebha. There Muammer Qadhafi returned to the theme of the need for power to be decentralised, and vested with the people. 'The political leadership feels the burden of support and popular trust and tries, as much as possible, to get rid of it,' he declared.

The Sebha Congress, after much debate, resolved to build a new political system on which Libyan democracy would be based. It embraced the concepts of popular democracy and people's power, and declared the **jamahiri** system. The 'era of the masses' was born, and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya proclaimed.

□ This article is based on the text of a talk given by the author as part of a series of lectures organised during the Libyan Cultural Season in London by the Union of Libyan Writers and Artists last autumn.

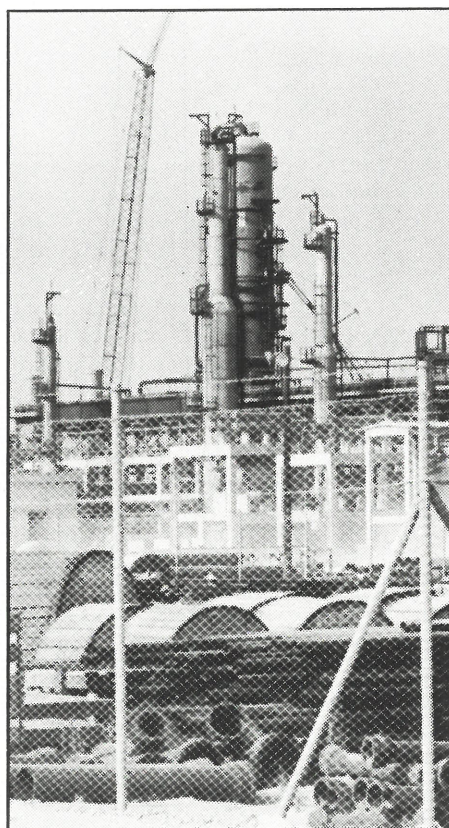
THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has assumed an increasingly important role since the Al Fateh Revolution, both on the world stage as a leading member of the Non-Aligned Movement, and as a major trading partner for western industrial countries. Yet until recently there was a severe dearth of in-depth studies on the country. This contributed in no small way to the general misunderstanding of conditions in modern revolutionary Libya, and gave a clear field to those seeking deliberately to foist a misleading picture onto the unsuspecting public.

In the past year, however, there has been a spate of publications on the Jamahiriya that have done much to rectify the situation. Journalists and others who portray Libya in a consistently negative light can no longer plead lack of information. Much of the credit for the new volumes must go to the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), and in particular to two geography lecturers with a long-standing interest in Libya — Dr K.S. McLachlan and Dr J.A. Allen. Three of the most useful works on the Jamahiriya in the past year have been written or edited by McLachlan and Allen.

Allen's *Libya: the Experience of Oil*, offered the first detailed analysis of Libyan economic, social and political change since the discovery of oil in the early 1960s. The economic and social sections are the strongest and most informative, however, although the study is marred by its gratuitously negative treatment of the Jamahiri system of direct democracy, proclaimed in 1977.

A seminar on the Jamahiriya organised by SOAS in autumn 1981 has proved to be a watershed in the development of Libyan studies. The conference was attended by academics and others from Britain, Europe, North America and the Arab homeland, who presented papers on an extraordinarily diverse range of topics. During 1982, selections of these papers were published in two major volumes. *Libya since Independence* edited by J.A. Allen, focusses on the period since the 1969 Revolution. It represented the first attempt at a comprehensive documentation of changes during the revolutionary period, with separate chapters dealing with aspects of resource use and economic development, and four sections examining social and political change.

A companion volume, *Social and Economic Development of Libya*, edited by George Joffe and Keith McLachlan, has just appeared, and covers the period of Libyan history from 1853 and the end of the Karamanli dynasty that ruled in Tripoli as a nominal vassal of the Ottoman Empire. The twenty one chapters cover a wide range of topics and, as the Introduction says, 'a common thread running through them all is a concern with the evolution of Libya from a Turkish dependency into a nation state'.



One recent title deals with changes in the country since the discovery of oil

Filling the information gap

DESPITE THE Libyan Jamahiriya's growing world economic and political role, there has until recently been dearth of in-depth studies on the country. Dr Alan George reviews a welcome series of recent publications dealing with economic, social and political change in Libya that have done much to fill the information gap.

Many of the papers will interest the general reader, but others, such as Monique Bradley's 'Music and Social Change' and Harvey Goldberg's 'Tailors in Tripoli in the colonial period', will attract only the specialist.

These three volumes between them provide an invaluable reference base for those interested in detailed analyses of change and development in Libya, but another study published last year offers direct prac-

tical assistance to the western business community by acquainting them with the Jamahiriya's current social and economic objectives, as set out in the \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan. Prepared and published by the Department of Trade-financed Committee on Middle East Trade, as a follow-up to a British trade mission to the Jamahiriya, the report gives a detailed, sector by sector review of the projects and aims of the plan, highlighting two key aspects: the sheer scale of planned investments, and the heavy emphasis on diversifying the economy away from its dependence on the oil industry. The report has many useful investment and trade tables, and a particularly helpful appendix listing the names, addresses and functions of all the major Libyan public companies and organisations involved in trade and development.

Another volume on the Jamahiriya, *Libya - A Modern History* by John Wright, is less easy to recommend wholeheartedly. It offers a general survey of Libyan history, but the emphasis is on the pre-revolutionary period, belying the title. Reflecting the author's main expertise, the section on the development of the oil industry deserves praise, but Wright has difficulty concealing his basic sympathy for the multinational oil companies that exploited the Libyan people's oil so shamelessly for so long. The book's most serious flaw, however, is its failure to deal adequately with developments since the 1969 Revolution, which is the period of Libyan history that remains least understood in the West.

The past year's publications on Libya have been long overdue, and have filled a yawning gap in the literature of the Arab homeland. But there is one major aspect of modern Libya that remains unexplored, at least so far as in-depth studies are concerned. The Jamahiriya's foreign policy remains the subject of much confusion in the public mind, and it is to be hoped that scholars will soon turn their attention to producing an account of this neglected area.

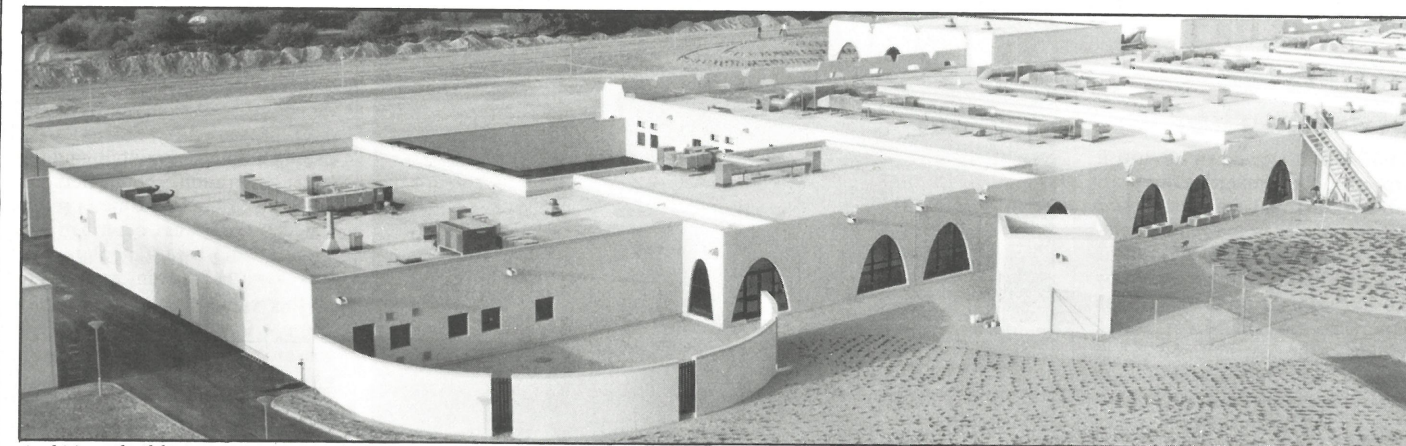
□ *Libya: the Experience of Oil*, by J.A. Allen, Croom Helm, London, 1981. Price £14.95.

□ *Social and Economic Development of Libya*, edited by E.G.H. Joffé and K.S. McLachlan, Middle East and North African Studies Press Ltd, Wisbech, 1982. 369 pages. Price £19 hardback.

□ *Libya - A Modern History*, by John Wright, Croom Helm, London, 1982. Price: £13.95.

□ *Libya: The Five Year Development Plan 1981-85, Committee for Middle East Trade*, 33, Bury Street, London SW1Y 6AX, July, 1982, 70 pages. Price £8.

□ *Libya since Independence; Economic and Political Development*, edited by J.A. Allen, Croom Helm, London and Canberra, 1982. 187 pages. Price: £12.95 hardback.



Ambitious building programme includes rehabilitation centres such as this one in Tripoli

'Building hospitals is the Revolution'

'THE REVOLUTION means the construction of hospitals and community clinics, it means the treatment of the Libyan people to free them from illness; it means the allocation of funds for the construction of health projects'. These words of Muammer Qadhafi underline the high priority that the Al Fateh Revolution accords to the expansion of the Jamahiriya's health care services. Modern Libya now boasts a range of health facilities that is the envy of most Third World countries, and while the services available include much more than hospitals, these form the essential base of the country's health system.

The 1969 Revolution heralded a massive increase on spending in the health sector. In the last eight years of the monarchy, investment in health totalled a mere LD 16.6 million. In the first eight years of the revolutionary era, by contrast, spending on health was more than eight times higher, totalling LD 142.4 million. Per capita expenditure rose from LD 8.3 in 1969 to LD 18.6 in 1975 and LD 30 in 1978.

The energy with which the revolutionary authorities have applied themselves to the health sector is also apparent in the progress attained. In 1968 there were only 41 hospitals in Libya, with 5,646 beds. Ten years later, there were sixty, with 13,347 beds. The ratio of beds to population increased from 3.4 per thousand in 1970 to more than five per thousand in 1975.

A continued emphasis on health services is evident in Libya's \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan, which allocates almost \$9 billion to the health sector. The plan aims to increase the number of beds from 14,472 in 1980 to about 23,765 in 1985, with an improvement in the bed/population ratio from 4.5:1,000 to 6:1,000.

The Jamahiriya is aware, however, that a first rate health system depends as much, if not more, on highly skilled personnel as on modern facilities. The 1981-85 plan calls for the training or recruitment overseas of one thousand new doctors, and 2,500 medical technicians to bring the respective totals in 1985 to 5,280 and 4,830. The plan fore-

THE PROVISION of high quality medical services to all Libyan citizens has been a consistent objective of the Al Fateh Revolution Dr Alan George reviews the Jamahiriya's hospital construction programme.

sees an increase in the ratio of doctors to population from one per 755 in 1980 to one per 750.

General hospitals

The plan provides for the completion of two 1,200-bed general hospitals in Tripoli and Benghazi, the construction of 200-bed hospitals in Sabratha, Mislatta, Zahra, Tarhouna, and Ben Gashir, and the building of twelve 120-bed hospitals, one of 400 beds and one of fifty beds, in other parts of the Jamahiriya. 27 small village hospitals are planned. In addition, five existing general hospitals will be expanded by the addition of 182 beds.

Initially, Libya's main preoccupation was to establish a country-wide network of general hospitals, but increasingly as this target has been approached the trend has turned towards greater specialisation. The current five year plan, for example, calls for the construction of a 500-bed surgical hospital and a 1,200 bed mental hospital, and these are in addition to smaller centres for the treatment of cancer, kidney diseases, glandular disorders, chest ailments and dental problems.

Developments over the past year illustrate the progress that is being attained. After a delay of six years, work has resumed on the central hospitals in Tripoli and Benghazi. Designed in the late 1960s by the Swedish firm Uniconsult, the two hospitals will both have three 400-bed blocks. When work on the schemes halted, only the civil work had been completed, and the two

buildings will each cost about \$135 million to complete. Each will have a staff of about 5,000.

The Jamahiriya's General Building Company began work in February on a two-year contract to finish the Benghazi hospital, with the Italian Compagnie Ellettrotecnica Italiana as the main sub-contractor for electrical work and the Aster International concern of Milan as main sub-contractor for mechanical works. Britain's James Cubitt & Partners is responsible for construction supervision. South Korea's Daewoo Corporation, meanwhile, was awarded a thirty-month contract to complete the Tripoli central hospital, and work started in January.

Maternity

In May it was announced that the new central hospital in the south western town of Ghadames was almost complete. The 134-bed hospital, fully equipped with the most modern equipment, has operating theatres, and units for maternity, gynaecology, contagious diseases, intensive care, casualty, cardiology, brain scanning, chronic illnesses and physiotherapy. The hospital complex includes doctors' and nurses' residences and a mosque.

The Jamahiriya's health planners are determined to assure a wide distribution of hospitals and other facilities throughout the country so that all Libyan citizens have ready access to them. To function at optimum capacity, however, the larger and more sophisticated facilities must be located in the main towns and cities. To overcome the problem, a flying doctor service was inaugurated last year, which enables doctors to fly out to patients, and allows rapid hospitalisation when required. Announcing the new service, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed that the Health Secretariat had bought three helicopters and two fixed-wing aircraft for the service, and that thirty pilots for the medical aircraft had completed their training. Last June it was announced that the Italian firm Italconsult had begun designs for twenty heliports, to be built near hospitals throughout the Jamahiriya.

Libya is UK's fifth largest Arab market

DESPITE A slowdown of British exports to the Jamahiriya this year, Libya is the fifth largest market for UK companies in the Arab homeland, according to statistics for the first half of 1982 just released by the Department of Trade. British exports to Libya fell from £246.1 million in the first half of 1981 to £146.2 million in the corresponding period of 1982. Despite the UK having its own oilfields in the North Sea, Libya exported to Britain oil and petroleum products worth £88.3 million in the first half of last year, accounting for most of the Jamahiriya's £95.7 million exports to Britain in the period.

British exports to the region as a whole rose to £2.1 billion in the first six months of 1982, an eighteen per cent increase over the figure for the equivalent period in 1981. The major markets for British firms were Saudi Arabia, Iraq, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt, in that order.

Foreign workers benefit from Libyan prosperity

LIKE ALL Third World countries, the Libyan Jamahiriya has comparatively small numbers of skilled technicians and managers, and an emphasis on training and education for Libyans forms a major theme of the 1981-85 development plan. Another constraint on development is posed by the restricted size of the overall labour force, which reflects the relatively small total population. The Jamahiriya acknowledges that until the transition phase of labour intensive large scale construction has passed, and until more Libyans gain the necessary skills, there is no option but to recruit foreign workers to meet the demands of the economic and social development programme.

The process is mutually rewarding: the Jamahiriya benefits from the expatriate workers' contribution to the country's development programme, while the foreigners usually earn higher incomes in Libya than they could be expected to enjoy in their own countries, some of which are amongst the poorest in the world.

A recent survey by the Libyan General Administration of Passports and Immigration shows that the Jamahiriya currently hosts about 569,000 foreigners from more than 34 countries, accounting for 18 per cent of the official popu-



Gymnasium at the new rehabilitation centre in Tripoli (see story right)

lation of 3.2 million. The largest non-Libyan communities come from the Jamahiriya's immediate neighbours — 174,158 Egyptians and 73,582 Tunisians. Other major groups from the Arab homeland and other parts of the Third World include 44,546 Turks, 23,680 Pakistanis, 23,472 Indians, 23,227 Syrians, 18,053 Sudanese and 17,483 South Koreans.

The largest group from the socialist countries of East Europe is formed by the Romanians, numbering 17,868, while other major groups are the 12,707 Yugoslavs, 10,430 Poles, 8,942 Bulgarians and 6,233 Russians.

The 14,906 Italians form the largest western group followed by the British, who number 10,674. There are 2,743 French expatriates, 2,777 Greeks and 1,024 Irish.

In 1981 the Reagan administration imposed a ban on travel by US citizens to or through Libya, in response to wholly unsubstantiated reports emanating from Washington that Tripoli had sent 'hit squads' to assassinate the US President. But the Passports and Immigration administration figures show 2,608 workers from North America, and even allowing for the presence in the total of Canadians, this is still a remarkably higher figure than the 300-400 US citizens claimed by Washington as being currently resident in the Jamahiriya.

Other large foreign communities in the Jamahiriya include 13,383 Thais and 12,042 Palestinians. There are 5,570 Germans, but the statistics do not show whether

these are from East or West Germany.

The survey notes that the overall figures for some countries might be understated because certain nationalities, such as Syrians, Algerians, and Tunisians do not need visas.

Australian role in water conservation

NINETY PER cent of the Jamahiriya comprises arid desert, and sufficient rain for unirrigated agriculture falls only in the hilly regions of the north east and north west. Water is even more valuable than oil to the country's long term economic and social development plans, and Libyan planners have accorded a high priority to measures aimed at conserving and husbanding existing water resources, and at expanding them where possible.

In November the Western Australian Overseas Projects Authority (WAOPA) was appointed by the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) to conduct a six-week study of water resources in the region of the coastal town of Misrata, aimed at identifying ways of assuring their optimum utilisation. The firm, which has assigned two experts to the region, is already involved in a seed-selection project in the

Jamahiriya, covering the 1980-83 period.

The Libyan Jamahiriya has also been engaged in a long-term programme of seed-clouding from aircraft, designed to increase the overall amount of rainfall, and the latest operation, conducted on 17th November by the meteorological service, was described by Tripoli radio as a 'complete success', with heavy rains reported in all the regions seeded.

Health projects move ahead

TWENTY ONE health schemes have recently been completed in the Jamahiriya, including one village and seven urban hospitals, and several basic health care centres, Tripoli radio disclosed on 19th November. It added that contracts worth LD 85 million had been signed for the construction of two general hospitals, at Benghazi and Qubbah, and for the completion of a third, and for building sixteen medical training institutes.

Citing Health Secretariat statistics, the report announced that work was under way on 91 other health projects, including five general hospitals, ten village hospitals, 49 basic health centres and a school for assistant nurses at the town of Gharyan. Contracts had been signed for the construction of six out of 24 planned medical warehouses. In addition, plans were being prepared for a 1,200-bed mental hospital and a specialised tuberculosis hospital.

The Libyan Jamahiriya's \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan allocates \$1.9 billion to the health sector and calls for an increase in the number of hospital beds from 14,472 in 1980 to 23,765 by 1985. The ratio of beds to population is set to rise from 4.5:1,000 to 6:1,000 over the same period. The number of doctors is planned to rise from 4,300 to 5,280, and the number of medical technicians and assistants from 2,300 to 4,830.

Yugoslavia to drill for water

THE YUGOSLAVIAN firm Geotehnika is well placed to win a \$70 million contract to drill 270 water wells at Tazerbo and Sarir, deep in the Sahara south of Benghazi, *Middle East Economic Digest* disclosed on 26th November. The eighteen-month contract is part of the Jamahiriya's \$5 billion scheme to pump subterranean water north from the desert to the regions of greatest demand along the coast. The project carries a high priority because groundwater reserves along the coast have become depleted in

recent years, and will be unable to meet the requirements of Libya's planned industrial, agricultural and urban developments in the zone. The desert's subterranean reserves are estimated to be the equivalent of twenty years' flow of the river Nile.

Client for the scheme is the Coastal Belt Water Authority, based in Benghazi, a division of the Jamahiriya's Land Reclamation and Agrarian Reform Secretariat. Britain's Brown & Root is management contractor for the project, excluding the well-drilling.

As many as fifty major contractors will be awarded for the aqueduct project, including awards for the construction of pipe-manufacturing plants and for underground pipelaying. Already, contracts have been won by the West German firm Roland Fladner, for mapping the pipeline route, by the Yugoslavian concern Rudis, for a geotechnical survey of aggregate resources along the route, and by Britain's Portakabin for temporary housing.

Bulgarians building warehouses

THE BULGARIAN firm Technoexportstroy has started work on a contract to build 94 warehouses for storage at the Jamahiriya's ports. Most of the new facilities will be at Tripoli and Benghazi, while some will be destined for Tobruk and Sirte. The company recently placed a \$1.6 million subcontract with Britain's Coolag Purlboard, part of the Tarmac group, to supply insulated roofing, with final delivery in May.

Technoexportstroy is the largest Bulgarian concern involved in the Jamahiriya's development programme. Its contracts have included civil works for an ethylene plant at the petrochemicals complex under construction at Ras Lanouf, work on a new terminal and runways at Sebha airport, and several hospital projects.

Britain supplies anti-corrosion system

BRITAIN'S METAL & Pipeline Endurance has an order to design and supply a cathodic protection system to prevent salt water corrosion of steel piling in jetties at Misrata's bulk berth port. The order, valued at about \$85,000 is for completion in 1983.

The Misrata bulk port will serve the steelworks under construction in the town. A \$282 million con-



Loans for agricultural projects are a key part of the development programme

tract for the port's first phase was won in 1980 by the Turkish firm Turkes Feyzi Akkaya. The port will have an initial unloading capacity of 2,000 tonnes of iron ore or 1,300 tonnes of coal per hour. The projected second and third phases will raise the hourly unloading capacity of iron ore to 4,000 tonnes and of coal to 8,000 tonnes.

Al Fateh University expands

A NEW section of Tripoli's Al Fateh University, to include departments for the humanities, languages, physics, mathematics and physical education, is planned for the coastal town of Azzawiya, west of the Libyan capital, the People's Committee for Education in the town has disclosed.

The Azzawiya section of Al Fateh University will be the second to open outside Tripoli. Already there is a Faculty of Education in the southern desert town of Sebha, opened in 1976.

The Libyan Jamahiriya has an ambitious programme for the expansion of its higher education facilities. The country's third university, specialising in technical subjects, was opened at Marsa Brega in 1981, while the Gar Younis and Al Fateh campuses are undergoing continuing expansion and improvement. The 1981-85 development plan allocates one bil-

lion dinars to education at all levels, while the number of students in university and higher education is set to increase at an average annual rate of 9.6 per cent, from 19,300 in the 1980/81 academic year to 30,000 in 1985/86.

Farmers loaned LD 10.7 million

THE JAMAHIRIYA'S Agricultural Bank extended loans to farmers totalling LD 10,727,000 in the first nine months of 1982, the Libyan news agency JANA announced on 6th December. It added that none of the loans is for longer than five years.

The Agricultural Bank's loans to farmers are an integral part of the Jamahiriya's agricultural development programme, which aims at the achievement of self-sufficiency in food by the turn of the century. The credits are mainly for the purchase of agricultural machinery, seeds and fertilisers.

International Fair postponed

THE TRIPOLI International Fair has been postponed for the second consecutive year, and is not expected to take place until 5-25th March 1984, the Jamahiriya has announced. The delay has been

necessitated to allow maintenance and repairs to the fair's pavilions and services.

Columbia launch for Arabstat

THE UNITED States' space shuttle Columbia is to launch a telecommunications satellite for the Arab Satellite Organisation's Arabsat project in 1984, under an \$11.6 million agreement signed in Washington in November.

The satellite is the second in a series of three. The first, Arabsat A, will be put into orbit by the European Space Agency's Ariane rocket in February. All three are being built by France's Aerospatiale and the US Ford Aerospace & Communications Corporation.

Arabsat Director-General Mr Ali al Mashat said that Arabsat B will be part of a system designed to provide 8,000 telephone channels, seven television channels for domestic and regional services, and a channel for 'community television'. The latter, mainly for educational programmes, will be received directly by small antennae located in remote areas not covered by regular television networks.

Arabsat is a joint venture between all 22 Arab countries, including the Libyan Jamahiriya, and fourteen have already issued tenders for the construction of earth stations to link up with the satellites.

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BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

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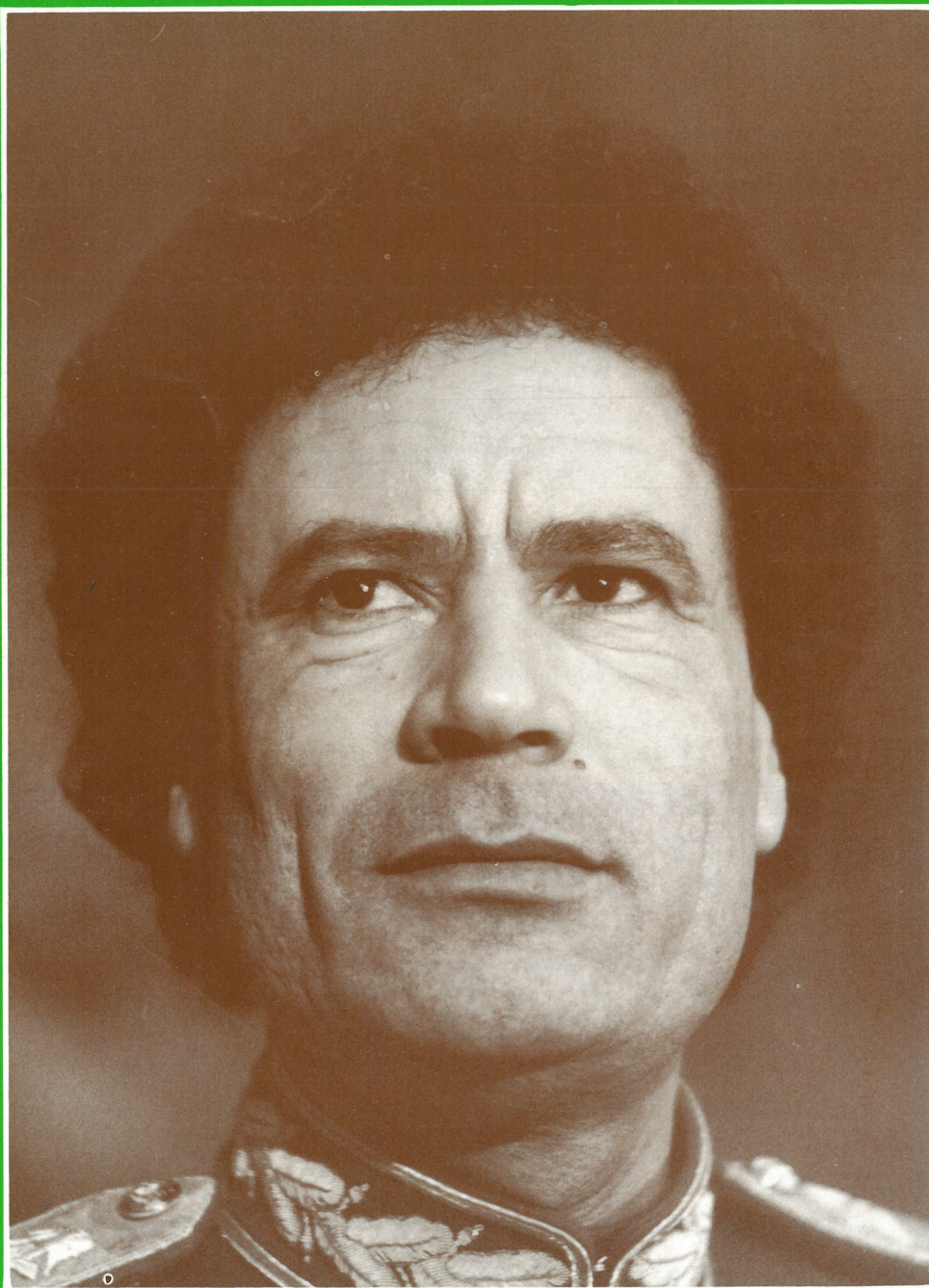
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